DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 259 613 HE 018 494

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TITLE Part-Time Faculty: Institutional Needs and Career Dilemmas. ASHE 1985 Annual Meeting Paper.
PUB DATE Mar 85
NOTE 30p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (Chicago, IL, March 15-17, 1985).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *College Faculty; Employment Level; *Faculty College Relationship; Higher Education; Institutional Research; *Job Satisfaction; Needs Assessment; Occupational Aspiration; *Part Time Faculty; *Teacher Attitudes; Teacher Morale; Teacher Salaries; *Teaching Conditions; Teaching Load
IDENTIFIERS *ASHE Annual Meeting

ABSTRACT

Perceptions concerning part-time teaching by part-time faculty at a large metropolitan university were studied. The respondents were divided into two groups: those who wished to teach part-time (the willing) and those who were teaching part-time because of their inability to find full-time work (the reluctant). In addition to questionnaire responses from 253 part-timers, in-depth interviews were conducted with 12 respondents. Attention was directed to: reasons for teaching part-time, perceived advantages/disadvantages, career expectations, job and career satisfaction, and commitment to the university and to respondents' professional discipline. Reluctant part-timers felt they were at the bottom of the university system, since they received fewer material rewards than full-time faculty, taught more than a full course load, and had little time for research and publishing and little access to research funds. For willing part-timers, the joys of teaching, the opportunity to keep up in one's field, and the prestige of association with the university outweighed the low pay and low status of part-time work. Views of academic deans who were willing or reluctant to use part-time faculty were also identified in a related study. (SW)

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"Part-Time Faculty: Institutional Needs and Career Dilemmas"

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Presented at the 1985 ASHE Annual Meeting
Chicago, Illinois
March 16, 1985

HE018494

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This paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, March 15-17, 1985. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Historically, universities in North America have made use of a variety of professionals and experts to teach on a part-time basis. This practice has enabled the university to maintain staffing flexibility in times of expanding and contracting student enrollments, and to enlarge the scope of the curriculum. The individuals recruited for part-time teaching form a heterogeneous group that brings to the university a broad spectrum of skills, motivations and ambitions.

During the last decade, there has been a sharp increase in the use of part-time faculty. Several factors have contributed to this. As political priorities have shifted and government funding has not kept pace with inflation, universities have responded by curtailing the creation of tenure stream positions, and by hiring more part-timers. This trend has coincided with an enlarged sector of higher education producing more graduates who wish to pursue academic careers. Unable to find full-time positions, many of these graduates have had to settle for contractually limited appointments or for part-time work.

In her study of job mobility in Ontario universities, Moffat argued that a caste structure was evolving by "the creation of a pool of short-term non-tenure stream appointments through which young Ph.D.s circulate but out of which they cannot progress." (1980:190/191)

In Canada, the shortage of positions[1] is exacerbated by the large number of academics imported, mainly from the United States and Britain, when the universities were expanding rapidly.

Drawing on government data, ~~Stager~~ Meltz and ~~Meltz~~ Stager show that inter-decade immigrants accounted for 60 per cent of the increase in university teachers from 1961-1971, and for 37 per cent of the increase in the period from 1971-1981 (1984:31). The vast majority in these cohorts are tenured, and are a long way from retirement.[2]

Thus the universities and part-timers have become enmeshed in an uneasy symbiosis in which the interests of the two groups converge, but also frequently diverge. These divergences result in dilemmas for the institution and for the part-time faculty members themselves. In this paper, we will explore some of these dilemmas, particularly those created by the truncated careers of those part-timers who aspire to full-time academic status.

At the core of the university's complex functions are the creation, preservation and transmission of knowledge. The methods by which academics are prepared for their role tell us much about the relative importance accorded to these core functions. Unlike students who are preparing to teach in the public school system, those aspiring to university careers are not taught how to teach, except by example.

Furthermore, disciplinary associations have, until recently, paid little or no attention to teaching skills and their improvement. Research and publishing are given priority, and this is reflected in the rewards bestowed on faculty members by the university and by the academic community at large. Little has changed in this respect since Logan Wilson

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noted that:

> Faithful teaching service may leave its marks upon the 'hearts and minds of men', receive its local rewards, and be the occasion for expressions of esteem at alumni banquets, but unfortunately these do not form part of the higher specie of the professional trade. (1942:194)

Since research is a major mandate of the university (and de facto treated as the major one), and since part-time faculty is hired to teach, the university's mandate, too, is ostensibly curtailed by a high proportion of part-timers. The caveat 'ostensibly' is introduced because many part-timers in fact do engage in research and academic publishing. However, they are not officially required to carry out these activities. Given the priorities of the academy, this abridged mandate and all it implies virtually ensures the inferior status of part-time faculty. # As unions and occupational associations, for example teachers' federations, have won commitments from employers in terms of fringe benefits and job security, organizations have frequently found it expedient to make long-term use of part-time or temporary workers in order to reduce costs and maintain flexibility. Marchak notes that in the British Columbia forestry industry "large companies are supplied with a surplus of labour which has no legal claim on employers and which is available according to market demand." (1981:30) The same phenomenon can be observed in the public school system in the routine use of supply teachers, who do not participate in the job benefits enjoyed by permanent teaching staff. Part-time university teachers are in the same position. They are of particular interest to the study of part-time work, because they constitute an elite, expensively trained segment of the reserve army of labour.

New paragraph

In Canada, part-time workers have become the fastest growing segment of the labour force. Their proportion of all workers has grown from 3.8 per cent in 1953 to 13.5 per cent in 1981 (Commission of Inquiry into Part-time Work 1983). The percentage of part-time workers in the 1982 United States labour force was 22.54; for 32 per cent of these workers, part-time employment was involuntary (Bureau of Labor Statistics 1983).

This growth in the part-time labour force has prompted research on different aspects of part-time work. In Canada, for example, a Royal Commission was appointed to "enquire into improving the employment position of part-time workers in Canada." (1983:187) Since part-time work is generally thought of in relation to low level jobs, the Commission, in its report, expressed surprise at having received submissions from the academic community.

There is little research on part-time academics in Canada. The work that has been done focuses on the multi-dimensional handicaps of part-timers--the scarcity of full-time positions, low earnings, lack of security and impotence in professional decision-making. (ACUTE 1981, Katz 1984, Patterson 1983, SCCUQ 1982)

For example, Patterson investigated the position of graduate students and part-time faculty members teaching in university English departments. She concluded that the situation was grim and deteriorating, as departments kept producing graduates who had little hope of finding full-time academic employment. In 1981, 16 jobs were available, for which 60 new Ph.D. graduates would have to compete with unemployed and underemployed Ph.D.s already in the field.

In a brief submitted to the Royal Commission enquiring into part-time work (1982) it was shown that at the University of Quebec in Montreal, 54 per cent of teaching was done by part-timers. Those who teach a full-time load receive only half the remuneration of a full-time faculty member.

It is interesting that in more general examinations of the crisis perceived to be confronting Canadian universities, part-time faculty is mentioned only fleetingly and peripherally. In their report on Canadian universities, Symons and Page (1984) do not specifically discuss part-time faculty. The subject is briefly mentioned in relation to female academics. In fact, Skolnik and Rowen call for more data on part-time faculty as one of the elements required to "complete the present information mosaic." (1984:57) Clearly, part-time faculty

members are excluded from the collegial inner sanctum. Despite their large numbers, they also do not command attention in formal analyses of the university system.

The situation is not markedly different in the United States. (Flaningam and Taylor 1984; Gappa 1984; Leslie, Kellams and Gunne 1982) Gappa notes: "No aspect of higher education has been more neglected than part-time teaching, and as a result virtually all the available statistics are out of date." (1982:2) National surveys were conducted by Tuckman and Associates (1976) and by Leslie, Kellams and Gunne in 1978. Because of the paucity of existing research, the latter aimed at identifying "key issues and major policy thrusts." Hence, their general overview awaits fleshing out with more narrowly-focused in-depth studies.

Gappa (1984) draws together much of the existing research on the characteristics of part-time faculty, on institutional policies and practices, and on the constraints (such as collective bargaining) under which these are formulated. She notes that part-time faculty currently represents a growing constituency, and that this growth is likely to continue during the 1980s as the production of new Ph.D.s "will far exceed the demand for new faculty."(1984:19)

Some studies have focused on part-time academics as a women's issue. In a 1982-83 study of the part-time faculty at Montana State University, Flaningam and Taylor found some gender-related differences among these faculty members. Women were more likely than men to have only bachelor's degrees (60 per cent versus 40 per cent) and constituted only one-third of doctorate holders. An interesting difference emerged with respect to job responsibilities. In addition to teaching, women more often reported service and committee work, while men more frequently engaged in research activities and service on graduate committees. Since the latter are essential to the development of an academic career, men seem to be in an advantaged position.

However, the greater frequency of research and service on graduate committees reported by male part-timers may be related to the higher proportion of Ph.D.s among them. To isolate the effect of gender, one would need to control for academic qualifications.

Tuckman and Tuckman (1981) used data from a nation-wide survey of part-timers conducted by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in 1977. Based on these data, they developed a fourfold taxonomy, dividing part-timers into:

a) hopeful full-timers--those seeking full-time academic positions

b) full-mooners--those who taught part-time while holding a full-time job

c) part-mooners--those who held two or more part-time positions

d) homeworkers--women with full-time household responsibilities who taught part-time

Among those who sought full-time work, the category of greatest interest for the present study, Tuckman and Tuckman found that women earned only 63 per cent of what their male counterparts did. Furthermore "women were more active in seeking full-time academic positions than men, they were also less successful in obtaining offers." (1981:675) In part these differences may be accounted for by the greater geographic mobility of men, by the slightly higher percentage who had doctorates, and by their areas of specialization. Forty-four per cent of male 'hopefuls' were in the Arts and Humanities compared with 62 per cent of the female ones. The shortage of positions has been particularly acute in these areas. In Canada, too, a higher percentage of female part-time members teach in the Humanities, while males predominate in Science and Engineering. In her survey of the part-time faculty union, the Canadian Union of Educational Workers (CUEW),[3] Katz found that the respective percentages for men and women were 59 and 20 in Science and Engineering and 9 and 25 in the Humanities. (1984:3)

It is interesting that among 'hopeful full-timers' women have a somewhat longer experience: 6.6 years compared with six years for men. This may be tied to the greater difficulty women experience in finding full-time jobs. However, prolonged part-time teaching may itself make it more difficult to find a full-time academic position because the damaging label 'permanent part-timer' is consolidated.

The image of being a professional is that of an individual with a lifelong, full-time career commitment. Hine and Latack (1978) note that in fact, increasing numbers of professionals, notably women, hold part-time jobs. They raise the question whether a part-time professional constitutes a paradox, a contradiction in terms. With regard to part-time academics, Hine and Latack point to the additional flexibility such individuals afford to the employing institution. This flexibility is especially important as the consumers of post-secondary education are becoming more diverse, and require flexible scheduling for classes and other services, such as career counselling and writing workshops. Although part-timers meet an important organizational need, and are competent and committed, job security and professional legitimacy elude them.

Part-time faculty as a whole is a disadvantaged aggregation of academics. Given the position of women in society generally, it is hardly surprising that, in areas such as compensation and movement into full-time positions, they would fare less well than men. Even in the halcyon days when academics were in high demand, Caplow and McGee noted that:

> Women scholars are not taken seriously and cannot look forward to a normal professional career. This bias is part of a much larger pattern which determines the utilization of women in our economy. It is not peculiar to the academic world, but it does blight the prospects of female scholars. (1958:194)

One can posit two explanations--not necessarily mutually exclusive--for the emerging interest in part-time faculty. On the one hand, it has captured attention as a women's issue. On the other hand, it may be precisely because more men are being deprived of the 'normal professional career' referred to by Caplow and McGee (1958:194) that research effort has been directed toward the problem.

The Present Study

As the first phase of a larger study of the characteristics, career patterns, expectations and mobility of part-time university faculty members, questionnaires were mailed in April, 1983 to the 423 members of Unit 2 of CUEW[4] at a large metropolitan university.(Baker, Lundy and Warme 1983) A list of members was provided by the union. The questionnaires were numbered to make possible future in-depth interviews with selected respondents, and 253 questionnaires were returned (59.8 per cent).

The 253 respondents had a mean age of 37.5 years; 51 per cent were male and 49 per cent female. (The percentage of women stands in sharp contrast to their representation among full-time academics. Using 1980-81 figures, Groake (1983) reported that women constituted 15 per cent of full-time academics in Ontario.) The largest percentage (47) held master's degrees, 30 per cent had doctorates, 19 per cent had bachelor's degrees and 4 per cent reported other qualifications. (Baker 1985)

Based on analysis of the questionnaires, Baker (1985) divided the sample into 'willing' and 'reluctant' part-timers. Sixty per cent of the sample fell into the 'willing' group. Members either had full-time jobs, mainly as teachers, consultants and administrators, or they were completing their academic training. Three per cent were women with pre-school children. The latter two groups (graduate students and women with young children) viewed part-time teaching as temporary.

The 'reluctant' part-timers were more likely to have completed their studies, and included more women than men. Sixty-nine per cent reported that they were teaching part-time because of their inability to find full-time work. This group bears many similarities to the 'hopeful full-timers' identified by Tuckman and Tuckman (1981) and to the 'careerists' referred to by Leslie, Kellams and Gunne. (1982)

During December 1984/January 1985, Warme conducted in-depth interviews with twelve respondents. On the basis of Baker's classification, six were selected from the 'willing' and six from the 'reluctant' category. Respondents were asked to answer a series of open-ended questions in as much detail as they wished, and to add comments on issues not specifically included in the questionnaire. The questions centred on reasons for teaching part-time, on its perceived advantages and disadvantages, on career expectations, job and career satisfaction, and on commitment both to the university and to respondents' professional discipline.

The questionnaires, and Warme's interview data, yielded information on the perceptions of part-time teaching of those who actually engaged in it. In order to learn how administrators regarded the use of part-time faculty, Lundy (December 1984) interviewed the deans of the five faculties that employ Unit 2 CUEW members, and the Vice-President in charge of Finance and Employee Relations. A series of open-ended questions was asked and additional comments were invited. The areas covered included reasons for employing part-time faculty and the perceived advantages and drawbacks from the viewpoint of the university, of students, and of full-time and part-time faculty members. CUEW had conducted a strike just prior to these interviews, and respondents were asked to comment on the possible consequences of this strike for the future of part-time faculty at the university.

Findings and Discussion

American surveys of part-time faculty (AAUP 1977, Gappa 1984; Leslie, Kellams and Gunne 1982) have consistently stressed their diversity, their varying proportions and job responsibilities in institutions of higher learning. In part, this diversity can be explained as a function of geography (rural versus urban) and in terms of differences among two and four year community colleges, undergraduate liberal arts colleges and public and private universities. One of the striking findings that emerged from our study was the existence of such diversity within a single institution at one point in time.

First, as already noted, the formal qualifications of part-time faculty ranged from the minority without a university degree (4 per cent) to the 30 per cent who had completed a doctorate.[5] Differences in qualifications were related to membership in disciplinary associations, attendance at the meetings of these associations, and presentation of a paper within the last three years at one of these meetings. In each case, those who had doctorates were professionally more active than those with lower degrees (membership G = .357; attendance at meeting G = .274; presentation of paper G = .325). A weaker relationship was found between academic publishing and highest degree attained. One of three doctors had published, but only one of four masters and bachelors (G = .133).

The part-time group itself was pronouncedly heterogeneous, spanning those who, for varying reasons, were happy to be affiliated with the university by teaching only one course, to those who bitterly resented being locked into part-time status. Satisfied part-timers made such comments as:

> It is an excellent opportunity for people such as myself to keep in contact with university work.

Another said: Working at ...is an outstanding experience. The working conditions are superb. You are recognized as a professional and the opportunity for exploring different ways to deliver courses, to design creative assignments, is very much encouraged. There's a close monitoring of course outlines. The housekeeping items and delivery of services re same can only be described as impeccable. Teachers taking courses in the area of gifted children appear to be eager to learn and are highly motivated.

'Reluctant' part-timers are no less eloquent:

> As I am committed to teaching at the university level, I am happy to be able to pursue this career. However, teaching part-time is becoming increasingly unbearable for several reasons. I think the major reason is the complete lack of respect with which part-time faculty are treated by their full-time colleagues--and I find the attitude of the 'faculty' much worse than that of the 'administration', at least at.... That we are grossly exploited financially is accepted and hard enough to take. However, that we are regarded perpetually as inferiors, at best with condescension and often with outright disrespect, is insulting beyond belief. Such behaviour is always unacceptable, but particularly galling when one has a completed Ph.D., publications, etc. and is even more productive and diligent, both in the classroom and outside it, than many of one's full-time colleagues. Departments rely on our teaching but exclude us not only from department meetings, but even from social events.

Another somewhat terser, reflection:

> I would prefer full-time work; part-time work constrains virtually all aspects of academic life. It is immensely less satisfying than full-time work, especially in allocating time, contact with colleagues, my own productivity.

Some part-timers who have full-time jobs outside academe, Tuckman's 'full-mooners', feel that university affiliation confers prestige and enhances their credibility in their primary occupational field. Furthermore, like Leslie et al. (1982) we found that respondents with outside jobs were able to take advantage of organizational support services that were unavailable to them at the university. In this way, they eliminated a source of frustration (i.e., lack of adequate support services) cited repeatedly by other respondents.

By contrast, some respondents reported that part-time status adversely affected their public credibility:

> It's the pits.
> A man (outside academe) asked if I were a full-time professor and I said, "No." He said, "Then you are not a real professor, are you? But I thought you had a doctorate?" I replied, "I do." Sometimes outsiders can't distinguish between an academic qualification and an organizational position.

There are broad differences in motivations for teaching part-time, and in how various facets and consequences of this circumscribed work are perceived by part-timers. On the other hand, 'reluctant' part-timers are virtually unanimous in the view that they are at the bottom of the university's multi-caste system. Part-timers receive fewer material rewards than full-time faculty. To the extent that they depend financially on their teaching, they must teach more than a full course load (2½-3 courses per annum) to survive--always assuming that courses are available. Spending time and energy on teaching, usually including summers, means there is little left for research and publishing. In addition, most respondents (69.2 per cent) do not have access to research funds or travel money to conferences (71.9 per cent).[6] Hence a circular process gains momentum: part-time status ⟶ low pay and limited access to support services ⟶ heavy teaching load ⟶ little research and publishing ⟶ reduced eligibility for full-time openings ⟶ 'permanent' part-timer. In this way, marginality becomes entrenched.

A manifestation of lower caste status that part-timers experience as particularly painful is non-acceptance by their full-time colleagues. Indeed, many perceive themselves to be outside the collegium:

> Teaching part-time is for survival only. It is a standing insult to the human spirit to be a perpetual second-class citizen. Being a part-time teacher is to become institutionalized in a two-tier employment system. The top tier consists of tenure stream faculty with permanent benefits; the bottom tier consists of those who have nothing but a temporary salary for a 'piece of work.'

Marx noted that one's view of the world is shaped by one's position in it. Part-timers perceive themselves to be held in low esteem by full-time faculty. But full-timers may not harbour negative feelings toward part-timers per se. Rather, full-time faculty may be oriented primarily to the disciplinary forum outside their particular institution. In this forum, recognition from one's peers stems not only from individual scientific achievement but also from the general prestige of one's department/institution. Since part-timers are not seen to contribute to this prestige and since, where they are present in large numbers, they may be assumed actually to diminish it, full-time faculty may feel threatened by part-time faculty.

In spite of the diversity among respondents and in spite of their awareness of the drawbacks of teaching part-time, 78 per cent reported that they were moderately or highly satisfied with such teaching. The juxtaposition of the high percentage who replied positively to the question on job satisfaction, and the large number of negative comments about part-time status, suggests that the question was interpreted to refer to 'satisfaction with teaching' [7] rather than to satisfaction with part-time status. Teaching itself emerged as a source of gratification as did the opportunity to remain au courant in one's field:

> I teach because I find it exciting and stimulating. It keeps me updated with the literature and very aware of my clinical work. In my area, I also feel that teaching clinical practical work to students is more valid since I am also practising alongside and can provide direct practical examples and awareness of 'real life' situations. That is why I teach. Moneywise it is helpful, but I couldn't survive on part-time money.

> My reason for part-time teaching is simply to share some of my skills with other people in the profession. This involvement keeps me active and young. While the money can always be used, it isn't for the pay that I am doing this.

These respondents can enjoy the rewards of part-time teaching without having to worry about its meager economic rewards. Based on their case study of Eastern Urban University (EUU), Leslie et al. reached similar conclusions:

> The intrinsic stimulation of teaching and student contact is high on the agenda of most of these part-timers. There is also the opportunity for self-expression, an important consideration to many EUU part-timers. (1982:132)

Dissatisfaction centred on low pay, lack of power and prestige, and job insecurity. To the extent that they are comparable, our findings show many similarities with Finkelstein's conclusion based on his analysis of the literature on job satisfaction among university faculty:

> Faculty tend to derive satisfaction from the nature of their work itself, while they tend to express dissatisfaction most frequently with extrinsic factors such as salary, administrative leadership, etc. (1978:229)

Job satisfaction for part-timers is tempered by the awareness that their contributions to the institution and to the discipline are only marginally related to job security.[8] Because their attachment to the university is viewed as tenuous, and because they are not seen as augmenting the university's prestige, the scholarly efforts of part-time faculty are not documented with the same care as those of full-time faculty. In fact, one administrator noted that the university does not keep track of research and publishing activities carried out by part-timers.

Furthermore, the area in which part-time faculty might be able to excel, namely teaching, is accorded secondary importance. Caplow and McGee (1958:189) noted the incongruity that academics are hired to teach but that their career progress is determined by research and publishing. Since most part-timers lack an adequate infra-structure to pursue the latter activities, their careers are structurally impeded.

For the 'willing' part-timers, the joys of teaching, the opportunity to keep abreast of developments in one's field, and the prestige of association with the university outweigh the low pay and status-depressing concomitants of part-time status. For the 'reluctant' part-timers, those who seek a full-time academic career, the picture is far less benign. They must cope with the dissonance between what they aspired to during long years of graduate study and the reality of a truncated career. The longer they remain in part-time positions, the further the chance of becoming a bona fide academic recedes. This was a pervasive concern for respondents; the comments of a senior administrator showed that this concern is not unwarranted:

If funding improves, deans will want to hire more full-timers. There is no institutional bias, as part of university policy, against giving part-timers such positions, but there may be local bias. In other words, newly graduated Ph.D.s recommended by their prestigious supervisors who are on friendly terms with deans, department chairmen, etc. may be viewed much more favourably than part-timers who have been around for years and who, for a number of reasons, have not met the research and publishing mandate. Candidates would not be measured with the same ruler.

Our purpose in interviewing Faculty deans was to learn their views on the use of part-time faculty, and to discover what dilemmas were created for the Faculty by such use. We used the approach at the Faculty level that Leslie et al. had applied at the departmental level. They concluded that:

> Use of part-time faculty is a highly localized phenomenon, (and) .... disaggregation rather than generalization is essential to its understanding. One must look at an individual department to account for how part-time faculty fit into the logic of academic staffing. (1982:VI)

We found it useful to distinguish between 'willing' and 'reluctant' part-timers. Analogously, it is possible to discuss the deans in terms of their willingness or reluctance to utilize part-time faculty.[9] Broadly speaking, the professional Faculties welcomed part-timers--as a valuable resource, as bringing variation to the classroom, as role models for students, and as facilitating contacts for students' future employment. It should be noted that the majority of part-timers in professional Faculties had other full-time employment (Tuckman's 'full-mooners'). The Dean of Fine Arts commented:

> 'Lonely' artists such as painters and sculptors appreciate the contact with young people that teaching offers. In music, we have more part-timers than full-timers. Many of these part-timers value the opportunity to exercise their art, and are not interested in the career opportunities offered by the university. In graphic arts, we have two tenured faculty members, as opposed to eleven part-timers, all of whom have lucrative employment outside the university.

The Faculty of Education operates the largest in-service program (Department of Education courses for upgrading and acquisition of specialized expertise) in the province, and employs 400-500 part-timers, mostly senior education professionals. The Dean described them as 'vital' to the program.

In the professional Faculties, then, we appear to have a convergence between the interests of 'willing' part-timers and 'willing' employers. This does not mean that large-scale use of part-time faculty does not engender problems. However, one of the 'willing' deans, who emphasized the benefits of using part-timers, mentioned that he preferred to think of 'challenges' rather than problems. For example, he noted the need to ensure that far-flung groups develop a similar philosophy and objectives, and some commitment to the university. The Faculty has tried to build bridges between full and part-time members, so that they think of each other as colleagues rather than in terms of their appointment status.

Another dean commented:

> Some of the problems with part-timers revolve around continuity. In a degree-granting institution, somebody has to ensure the dimensions of the four-year program, and this function is performed by full-timers.

The dean of the college that employs full-time faculty to teach mainly part-time students (unique in Canadian universities) adopted an intermediate position between 'willing' and 'reluctant' deans. On the one hand, he welcomed the outside experience part-timers bring to the classroom, and their range of expertise that makes it possible to maintain a broad curriculum. On the other hand, he noted the hidden administrative costs in dealing with part-time faculty (also noted by American researchers, for example, Gappa 1984; Leslie et al. 1982), and the conflict of interests between full-time and part-time faculty who, by definition, belong to different unions. Because part-timers are vying for courses that full-timers may wish to teach on overload, they are economic competitors.

The 'reluctant' deans did see a place for prominent specialists, fully employed elsewhere, who would bring to the university both their expertise and the aura of their reputation. In turn, such part-time faculty members would have the opportunity to discuss their life's work in a stimulating environment. However, the deans stated flatly that the reasons for employing large numbers of part-timers were strictly financial. Since salaries absorb the largest part of the university budget, curbing salary costs is a prime concern, especially at a time of managing decline. One way in which the universities have addressed this concern is through hiring part-time faculty. A senior administrator made this clear:

> The real impetus to employ part-timers, however, is financial. Part-time teaching costs substantially less per student. By employing large numbers of low-cost part-timers, we are able to maintain relatively favourable student/faculty ratios, and more or less competitive full-time faculty salaries, despite our markedly unfavourable revenue generation per student.
>
> Yet to replace FTE (full-time equivalent) of part-timers with full-time faculty appointments would increase costs sharply, because part-timers are paid so much less than full-timers for equivalent teaching time. The average....full-time faculty salary cost in 1982-83 counting sabbatical cost and fringes, is approximately $54,000. For that amount, ...receives about 2.5 courses of instruction. For the same amount we can purchase 9 courses of instruction at the CUEW part-time Director rate. (Leung: 1983:2/3)

Handling financial problems in this way, however, creates its own costs. The 'reluctant' deans expressed concern that part-timers might have limited commitment to the university and be less available for consultation with students. They also referred to the work involved in dealing with such a large, transient constituency, finding office space for them, and administering a separate union contract.

With respect to the union, one dean noted:

> Some of the deans and department chairmen are not experienced in administering a collective agreement. The seniority provisions are transferred from an industrial model where tasks have been routinized so that the system's ability to function at a particular level becomes the paramount consideration. On the other hand, excellence is the goal of the university, and in that environment mere competence is not a valid criterion.

Concern with the negative impact of 'excessive' use of part-time faculty appears to be widespread in the academic community. In its Fall 1982 Newsletter, the Modern Language Association took a strong position on this issue:

> The potential damage to academic programs caused by the excessive use of part-time teachers cannot be calculated exactly, but some negative effects are unavoidable. Because part-time teachers are not treated as members of the departmental community, they often have a limited commitment to the institution and its students. Because part-time teachers rarely participate, as professionals should, in the development of courses, the continuity of sequential courses and the consistency of multi-sectioned courses suffer. Because part-time teachers are rarely available to advise students or, if available, may not be fully informed about institutional programs, inordinately heavy responsibility for advising falls to the full-time faculty. In addition, because of the low professional standing of part-time teachers, their frequent assignment to composition and introductory language courses diminishes the importance of basic courses at a time when society recognizes a need for special attention to this part of the curriculum.

The 'reluctant' deans referred to the problems discussed in the above quotation. They also mentioned that a high concentration of 'reluctant' part-timers, especially those who have taught on a part-time basis for some time, tends to lower morale. Full-time faculty members realize that the discrepancy

between their own respected position and the parish status of part-timers has much to do with changed labour market conditions. This generates ambivalence because there is also a tendency to ascribe part-timers' lack of scholarly productivity to their personal characteristics. Unproductive members are perceived to have an adverse effect on the university community as a whole.

However, these deans' fundamental objection to heavy use of part-time faculty revolved around potential damage to scholarship. They were unequivocal in defining research as the primary mandate of the university. Since research is not a contractual obligation for part-timers and since most lack the time and resources to engage in this independently, they are not seen as contributing to the heart of the university enterprise. If part-time faculty constitute a sizeable proportion of the total faculty,as they do in our case study, they are viewed as depressing the institution's productivity, thus adversely affecting its prestige. Institutional prestige is seen as crucial in attracting superior students who, in turn, will perpetuate and enhance this prestige. Lack of participation in research is seen to harm both the institution and the individual:

> For a scientist, it is his research record that counts. It is assumed that one is not going to be a total disaster as a teacher. (In one instance, we lightened the teaching load for a CLA and gave him adequate research opportunities in order to make him eligible for a tenure stream appointment that was becoming available--it worked out very well)
>
> 'Professing' by definition involves teaching, but although it is taken very seriously, it is secondary to research. Most scientists have a desire to communicate and a need to be understood, hence they enjoy some teaching. There are inherent tensions between research which is a private, almost selfish activity, and teaching which is a public and generous act.

Our findings echo those of Skolnik and Rowen (1984) who did a nationwide study of how Canadian universities are responding to, and coping with, fiscal restraint. In their survey of Presidents and Deans, they asked these officials to rate the relative importance of eight major objectives of a university. The vast majority (91.8 per cent) agreed that "pushing the frontiers of knowledge through research and scholarship" was either of substantial or of greatest importance (59.1 per cent felt this to be of greatest importance). (1984:70)

Skolnik and Rowen also found that scholarship is the objective viewed to have been most seriously harmed by financial restraint:

> By far the largest proportion, 61.4 per cent, of respondents felt that their institution's ability to realize this objective had been at least 'substantially' eroded. For no other objective did more than about 40 per cent feel such a serious change had taken place. (1984:71/72)

The dilemma for the university is obvious. As we have noted, one response to tight university budgets has been the hiring of more part-timers whose mandate does not encompass research. At the same time, the institutions are extremely fearful that financial restraint will result in the erosion of scholarship. If universities take steps to remove the financial and professional handicaps of part-time faculty, the cost-saving factors are vitiated, thus eliminating the rationale for extensive use of part-timers.

CONCLUSIONS

It is a scientific truism that one must be cautious in making generalizations on the basis of a case study. We can gain some confidence in the generalizability of our findings because they dovetail so closely with what has been reported in the recent literature. What emerged repeatedly in our study was that the umbrella term 'part-time faculty' obscures significant

distinctions among those so labelled. We also found differences in how the advantages and disadvantages of employing part-timers were assessed by deans at the same university.

The problem of part-time faculty is, of course, only one aspect of the more general problem of managing decline in the higher education sector. It is, however, a critical aspect because of what we might term a "seepage effect." That is to say, it touches on many facets of institutional functioning and of personal fate. The proportion of faculty that is part-time affects a university's budget, its labour relations, morale, curriculum coherence and scholarly productivity, as well as its prestige in the academic community and its image in the society at large.

The meaning of part-time status for individuals is conditioned by whether they teach part-time because they want to, or reluctantly, because full-time status is unavailable. For the latter type, the marginality conferred by part-time status, especially if it is likely to be terminal, constitutes a minimal return on a heavy personal investment of time and money in education.

Where 'willing' part-timers teach in Faculties that regard them as an asset (those Faculties headed by our 'willing' deans), part-time status is not necessarily problematic. There is convergence between institutional interests and those of the part-time academics.

Part-time status is most problematic where part-timers are 'reluctant' and where the Faculties' major incentive for hiring them is financial, i.e., Faculties headed by 'reluctant' deans. It is here that we find pronounced divergence of interests, a marriage of convenience gone sour.

Through determination, ability and luck, an individual 'reluctant' part-timer may succeed in breaking out of the vicious circle. For 'reluctant' part-timers as a group, however, the dilemmas which produce career truncation are structural ones. These dilemmas are likely to persist unless the relationship between universities and part-time faculty is fundamentally re-aligned.

1 In their national study of Canadian universities, Symons and Page note that the shortage of positions is acute in the humanities and social sciences. On the other hand, in the natural and life sciences and in faculties of business, management and administrative studies, the situation is the reverse. Indeed "there are too few qualified Canadians available for the university positions that are open. Given the strong student demand in some professional areas, the human resources required for teaching in these areas are spread desperately thin." (1984:118)

Symons and Page point to the irony that the number of doctorates awarded where manpower is needed has actually declined, while more are graduating in areas where jobs are scarcest. In 1971-72 6433 students were enrolled in Ph.D. programs in the Humanities and Social Sciences and 6381 in Natural, Applied and Life Sciences. In 1981-82, the respective enrollments were 7987 and 5252. (1984: 109)

2 Symons and Page show that during 1982-83, 71.4 per cent of Canadian full-time university teachers were under 50 years old; their median age was 44.(1984:137)

3 Not all Canadian universities have a unionized part-time faculty. In some universities, for example at the University of Toronto, teaching assistants are unionized but part-time faculty members are not.

4 Teaching assistants were not included. They are organized into Unit 1 of the CUEW local.

5 Examination of the qualifications of full-time faculty listed in the 1985-86 calendar of one of the university's colleges showed that of the 148 individuals, 111 (75 per cent) had doctorates. Those who did not had a master's degree and sometimes additional professional qualifications.

6 Actually, CUEW succeeded in having modest research and travel funds established for its membership. The fact that many respondents appear to be unaware that this money is available may attest to their lack of involvement, both with the university and with their union.

7 On the questionnaire, the question regarding job satisfaction read as follows:

> If you were to rate your job satisfaction as a part-time university teacher, how would you rate it? (Circle the appropriate number)
>
> Least satisfied 1 2 3 4 Most satisfied

We categorized as 'modestly rately satisfied' those who circled 3 and as 'highly satisfied' those whose who circled 4.

8 The union contract has ensured that seniority, rather than performance, is the over-riding criterion for making appointments. While really poor performance may jeopardize rehiring, academic excellence does not ensure continued employment.

9 The terms 'willing' and 'reluctant' deans are not meant to imply a personal predilection. Rather, we are arguing that professional and academic Faculties have different mandates which affect how the employment of part-time faculty is viewed.

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